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SUBJECT: DC PARLIAMENTARY SEMINARS STRESS PARTY UNITY

REF: ROME 15727

SUMMARY: THE THREE-DAY CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT (DC) PARLIAMEN-
TARY SEMINARS CONCLUDED SEPTEMBER 25 STRESSING UNITY BOTH
WITHIN THE PARTY AND IN SUPPORT OF THE DC MINORITY GOVERNMENT.
BOTH ANDREOTTI AND ZACCAGNINI CALLED ON THE PARLIAMENTARIANS
TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE CHANGED POLITICAL SITUATION TO PRO-
VIDE THE DC WITH NEW IMPETUS AND RESOLVE. ANDREOTTI OFFERED
A REALISTIC ASSESSMENT OF THE COUNTRY'S NEEDS, WHICH HE SAID
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COULD NOT BE "CURED WITH BICARBONATES." ZACCAGNINI'S PHILO-

SOPHIC DISCOURSE STRESSED THE PRIMACY OF THE PARTY OVER THE PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS AND THE VIEW THAT THE DC'S VALUES ARE BROADER THAN THOSE REPRESENTED BY ANY ONE INDIVIDUAL OR FAC-TION. IN THE INDIVIDUAL SEMINARS, GRANELLI (DC LEFT) PROVIDED A FOREIGN AFFAIRS ANALYSIS IN A DISTURBINGLY THIRD WORLD CAST, INCLUDING A REVIVAL OF MORO'S OLD PROPOSAL FOR A "CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN." END SUMMARY.

1. IN THEIR CONCLUDING SPEECHES PARTY SECRETARY ZACCAGNINI AND PRIME MINISTER ANDREOTTI BOTH APPEALED FOR PARTY UNITY. ZACCAGNINI ASKED THAT THE DC'S "COMPLETE SOLIDARITY" BEHIND ANDREOTTI BE TRANSLATED NOT ONLY IN PUBLIC STATEMENTS OF SUPPORT BUT "ABOVE ALL IN WORK AND THE DC'S POLITICAL AND PARLIAMENTARY INITIATIVE." FOR HIS PARTY, ANDREOTTI CALLED ON THE PARTY TO SUPPORT THE PARTY SECRETARY WITH "INTELLIGENT COMPETENCE", POINTEDLY REFERRING TO ZACCAGNINI AS HAVING BEEN DIRECTLY ELECTED BY THE PARTY CONGRESS.

2. BOTH LEADERS SEE THE DIFFICULT POLITICAL SITUATION AND THE SERIOUSNESS OF ITALY'S PROBLEMS AS PROVIDING INCENTIVES FOR THE RENEWAL OF THE PARTY. ACKNOWLEDGING THAT THE DC HAD SUFFERED "UNDER THE WEIGHT OF 30 YEARS OF RULE," ZACCAGNINI SAID THE CURRENT SITUATION OFFERS "AN IMPETUS" FOR REVITAL-IZING THE PARTY. ANDREOTTI ALSO SAW BENEFITS FOR THE PARTY: "THE PRESENT SITUATION IS NOT NEGATIVE IF WE ARE EQUAL TO THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE SITUATION."

3. THE ASSESSMENT OF BOTH LEADERS WAS FIRMLY ANCHORED IN REALISM, HOWEVER. WHILE ANDREOTTI MAINTAINED THAT "CONDITIONS FOR THE COUNTRY'S RECOVERY EXIST," HE ALSO WARNED THAT "CANCER CAN'T BE CURED WITH BICARBONATES." NO SERIOUS PROGRAM COULD BE UNDERTAKEN WITHOUT "SACRIFICES AND LIMITATIONS." ANDREOTTI'S SPECIFIC COMMENTS ON HIS ECONOMIC PLAN ARE REPORTED IN THE REFERENCED MESSAGE. MENTIONING ITALY'S URGENT NEED FOR CON-VERTIBLE CURRENCIES, ANDREOTTI ALSO WARNED THAT ONE "COULD EXPECT IMF, EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, AND BILATERAL HELP ONLY IF PAST COMMITMENTS ARE HONORED AND WE PRESENT A PROGRAM FOR RECOVERY AND DEVELOPMENT WHICH IS BOTH EFFECTIVE AND REALIS-TIC."

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4. ZACCAGNINI ENGAGED IN A LONG PHILOSOPHIC DISCUSSION OF THE NATURE OF THE DC PARTY SUPPORTING HIS CONCLUSION THAT "AMONG US THERE IS NO EXCLUSIVE CUSTODIAN OF THE VALUES WHICH WE ALL REPRESENT." SIMILAR TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY ("YET SO DIFFERENT FROM US"), THE DC IS A "GREAT COAGULANT OF FORCES GROUPED AROUND THE PARTY." HOWEVER, UNLIKE THE PCI, THE DC DOES NOT ACCEPT THE IDEA THAT IT REPRESENTS A SPECIFIC GROUP --BE IT PROGRESSIVE OR CONSERVATIVE, WORKER OR BOURGEOIS.

MOREOVER, TO ZACCAGNINI, THE PARTY REPRESENTS NOT ONLY THE INTERESTS OF ITS MEMBERSHIP BUT OF ITS ELECTORATE (PRESUMABLY BROADER) AS WELL. FINALLY, IN A REFERENCE TO AGNELLI'S HILTON SPEECH (ROME 15154), ZACCAGNINI AGAIN DISCOUNTED MANAGERIAL AND TECHNOCRAT VALUES UNLESS THEY GUIDE POLITICAL ACTIVITY WHICH IS FIRMLY ROOTED IN THE DC'S TRADITIONAL VALUES.

5. ZACCAGNINI SEES THE PARTY AS HAVING PRIMACY OVER THE PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS. BOTH ZACCAGNINI AND ANDREOTTI SOUGHT TO DISPEL THE VIEW THAT THE MINORITY GOVERNMENT SITUATION WOULD LEAD TO AN EXPANSION OF "ASSEMBLISM"--LOWEST COMMON DENOMINATOR PRIOR UNDERSTANDINGS BETWEEN PARTIES. ANDREOTTI APPEALED TO THE PARLIAMENTARIANS FOR UNITED SUPPORT OF THE DC'S PROGRAMS, "SCRUPULOUS BEHAVIOUR", AND "RESPECT FOR THE DC'S TRADITIONAL VALUES." ZACCAGNINI SAW THE PRESENT SITUATION

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AS PROVIDING AN "OPEN COMPETITION BETWEEN THE POLITICAL FORCES," WHICH WILL PROBABLY CONTINUE EVEN WHEN A MAJORITY CAN BE FORMED BETWEEN THE DC, SOCIALISTS, AND OTHER LAY PARTIES.

6. ANSWERING CRITICS WHO MAINTAIN THAT ANDREOTTI MAY BE TEMPTED TO CEDE TOO MUCH TO THE PCI IN ORDER TO STAY IN POWER, ANDREOTTI STATED HE WAS ONLY CONCERNED WITH GETTING THE JOB DONE. IN FACT, HE WOULD RATHER RESIGN THAN BE "PREVENTED FROM GOING BEYOND AN ANALYSIS AND IDENTIFICATION OF PROBLEMS TO A COHERENT PLAN FOR THEIR SOLUTION AND ECONOMIC RECOVERY." HE ALSO CHIDED THOSE (SOCIALISTS?) WHO HAVE ALREADY DELIVERED THEIR FINAL JUDGMENTS ON HIS GOVERNMENT "AFTER ONLY EIGHT WEEKS," AND THOSE WHO ARE ALREADY BUSY DISCUSSING WHO SHOULD LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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OR COULD SUCCEED HIM. THE LATTER CASE PROBABLY REFERS TO DONAT-CATTIN'S REMARKS AT SAINT VINCENT (ROME 15410) IN WHICH THE DC-LEFT LEADER SAID IT WAS NOW TIME TO THINK ABOUT WHAT THE POST-ANDREOTTI GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE. ANDREOTTI'S ANSWER WAS THAT HE WAS SIMPLY TOO BUSY WORKING ON WHAT NEEDED TO BE DONE TO WORRY ABOUT "POLITICAL DESIGNS FOR THE FUTURE."

7. OF THE PARLIAMENTARY SEMINARS, THE MOST SIGNIFICANT FROM THE US POINT OF VIEW WAS THAT CONDUCTED ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS. WHILE A NUMBER OF PARLIAMENTARIANS AND EXPERTS ADDRESSED THE SEMINAR, PROMINENT ATTENTION WAS GIVEN TO THE VIEWS OF LUIGI GRANELLI (FORMER FOREIGN MINISTRY UNDER-SECRETARY WHO IS RUMORED TO REPLACE ANTONIOZZI AS HEAD OF THE DC'S FOREIGN RELATIONS OFFICE). ALTHOUGH HIS REMARKS WERE MORE TEMPERED THAN THOSE REPORTEDLY MADE AT THE SAINT VINCENT MEETING OF THE DC LEFT (ROME 15248), GRANELLI'S EMPHASIS ON THIRD WORLD AND NON-ALIGNED VIEWS AND INTERESTS ARE DISQUIETING, PARTICULARLY IF HE IS APPOINTED TO HEAD THE PARTY'S FOREIGN AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT.

8. GRANELLI BEGAN WITH A STATEMENT THAT ITALY'S FOREIGN POLICY IS SQUARELY ROOTED ON EUROPE AND THE WEST--A POINT WHICH HE HASTENED TO DESCRIBE AS "ACCEPTED TODAY BY ALL THE PARTIES OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL ARC" (IE. INCLUDING THE PCI). THERE FOLLOWED A CATALOG OF THIRD WORLD AND NON-ALIGNED DESIDERATA FOR "A NEW NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONSHIP" AND "THE ACHIEVEMENT IN EUROPE AND THE WORLD OF AN EQUILIBRIUM WHICH AVOIDS THE THREAT OF FORCE AND RESULTS IN A MORE ADEQUATE (ESTABLISHMENT) OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN AND INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE." GRANELLI ALSO SPOKE OF ITALY'S NEED TO PREPARE FOR THE 1977 BELGRADE CSCE FOLLOW-ON CONFERENCE. HE REVIVED MORO'S OLD PROPOSAL FOR A "CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN", SUGGESTING THAT THE BELGRADE MEETING WOULD

PROVIDE AN OPTIMUM OPPORTUNITY TO RELAUNCH IT.

9. THE DC PARLIAMENTARY SEMINARS APPEAR TO HAVE STRENGTHENED BOTH ANDREOTTI AND ZACCAGNINI BY PROVIDING THEM WITH VALUABLE SUPPORT AS THE NEW LEGISLATIVE SESSION OPENS. THEY HAVE ALSO ENHANCED THE DC'S IMAGE AS A PARTY WHICH ACTIVELY CONSULTS THE VIEWS OF ITS PARLIAMENTARIANS AND EXPERTS. IN THE COURSE OF THE NEXT FEW DAYS, WE WILL BE SEEKING ADDITIONAL COMMENTS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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FROM ITALIAN SOURCES ON THE OUTCOME OF THE SEMINARS. VOLPE

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